854 crossing on the chest and being either tied or tucked under the opposite arms. When a little older the child kneels on the top of the *rollo* or thick pleats at the top of the skirt or sits on the *rollo* with legs on either side of the mother's waist. In either case the child is held in place by the *rebozo*. Men often carry infants in their
857 arms, while small girls frequently carry their
854 younger brothers and sisters in the same way as their mothers. The infants seem to interfere with the older child's activities very little.

Occasionally a boy will be seen carrying an infant in a *rebozo*. While this is not common, the boys seemed entirely unself-conscious and were not teased at all. Almost never is an infant put down until it is able to walk. As indicated above, it sleeps with the mother and is permitted to nurse at any time, often sleeping at the breast.

862 Children are not weaned until 18 to 24 months; rare cases are reported of children nursing to the age of 3 or 4. Weaning is aided by anointing the nipple with some bitter or piquant material, for example, chile. Weaning is done because of belief the child needs to have better nourishment, not because of boredom or feeling that the mother may suffer from prolonged nursing. Solid food is given the infant
853 as early as 3 or 4 months, when a little fruit may be offered, such as banana. Tortillas are not given until 8 months. Milk, soup, and mild foods are first given the child. Cooked vegetables are fed at about 3 or 4 years. Chile is not fed children until they are well-grown, or adult, according to one informant.

854 Although children are rarely put down, after they are several months old they may occasionally be placed on the ground and permitted to *crawl for brief periods. Occasionally chil-*dren walk on all fours rather than on their knees. They are not permitted to try to walk,
[856] even though they wish to, until they are judged old enough to do so without causing curvature of the legs.

● 868 When children are permitted to attempt walking, a wooden bar is hung from two ropes, which in turn fasten to a single rope suspended from a tree or beam. The child is stood up and persuaded to hold the bar, which moves and forces the child to walk. Some children walk

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[p.178]

Some children walk
as early as 8 months, but most later, and some
not until 2 years.

It is said that children begin to speak between the ages of 18 and 24 months. The parents pronounce words for the child, encouraging it to repeat them. The first words are said to be papá, mamá, uekainga ("I want"), and anáka ("eat").

The teeth normally appear about the time tortillas are first fed, that is at about 9 months.

Toilet training is not rigorous and little is done until the child is able to walk. Up to this time the infant is usually kept in a diaperlike piece of cloth which is changed when soiled. A shirtlike garment and, at an early age, a small straw hat are the usual clothing. Occasionally children learn toilet control before they walk. Probably this is due to training by the mother, but informants were unaware of any efforts in this direction. Even when the infant walks, training is evidently indirect. If the child persists in urinating, after a time the mother cuts down its liquid intake and refuses to change it immediately when its garments are wet. Small children evacuate the bowels normally once in the day and once at night if they have learned some control; when a little larger, they evacuate once a day. The only control recognized by informants was through fixed feeding schedules. Undoubtedly there is more than this, but there were few opportunities of observation and much of the control apparently was so commonplace that informants (who had to be mainly men) were unaware of it. It was felt, however, that in the occasional cases where a child had not learned control at the proper age it was because of carelessness on the part of the mother. In general, however, there seems little stress or emotional overtones about the training problem.

As soon as children begin to walk, they are dressed in miniature replicas of adult garments. In all cases observed, imitations of the traditional garb were worn. Little girls wore a tiny rollo, while boys wore cotton trousers and shirt. At the age of 2 or 3 the ears of little girls are pierced by their mothers, using a needle. A bit of straw is used to keep the openings clear until earrings are provided, which is usually done very soon afterward. The operation is purely for beauty and is not

1.Beals E-3 (1942-1943)1946 MI3M Tarasco MI3M
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854 [152] forebearance than seems likely to be usual. Possibly her behavior was inhibited by awareness that I was watching.

861 [524] In another instance, a group of small boys were playing marbles. The mother of one of them, a boy probably not over 7, came up behind him, kicked him rather smartly, and scolded him shrewishly for crawling around on his knees and destroying his trousers. The boy was obviously furious but made no reply; when his mother was out of sight he resumed his game—and the crawling. The opportunities for observation of the treatment of small children were far too few to be certain the foregoing cases are typical.

Other situations are handled without stress. [864] Masturbation by small boys is simply ignored by everyone even though it be in public. There seem to be no efforts to inculcate fears in the children or to control them by fear. Children showed some curiosity but certainly no fear of members of the staff. In one instance a mother trying to get a small boy to come to her remarked that I might carry him off. He looked me over calmly and was sufficiently perturbed to make a start in his mother's direction, but he certainly did not take the possibility very seriously. It may be of significance that the mother spoke to the small boy in Spanish.

736 [195] Being an orphan is regarded as a grave misfortune, even though a child may be helped by its godfather. A child whose father has left the mother or died is also spoken of as an orphan. A common figure of speech in Cherán when a person wishes to emphasize how he has had to struggle is to compare himself to an orphan or to say his parents were so indifferent that he felt himself an orphan.

857 871 [562] *About 20 percent of the boys go to school at* ages between 6 and 8. None of the girls are ever sent to school. Generally by 5 or 6 there is some start toward participation in adult activities. Boys may be sent on errands, while girls begin to play at adult activities.

868 857 Actual participation in adult work begins at about 8 years for boys. At this age they accompany their fathers to the woods and help carry back firewood. In the fields they may do no more than guard the father's blanket, but they are given a sense of participation. They may also help drive animals or care for them. By

868 10 they may guide the plow and do other field work, for short times. By as early an age as
857 15, boys may be working for wages. When a boy begins to accompany his father and to aid in his work, he no longer plays with girls. There seems no rule about this, but about this time, when a boy is not working, he goes into the streets and plays with other boys of his own age, while the girl no longer plays outside but always stays near her mother unless sent on an errand. On rare occasions, if a child is
[461] disobedient, he may be struck once or twice with a rope or switch.

At a little more than 6 or 7 a girl may be carrying about a younger child and caring for it much of the time. Soon after this she begins to grind on the metate, not as a help, but simply to learn how. The mother also gets a small water jar, and at an early age the girl accompanies her mother to get water. Girls observe the mother in the kitchen and gradually begin to take part in the activities. By the age of 8 a girl may be going alone to the mill with maize. If disobedient, girls may be punished in the same way as boys. In general, it is the opinion in Cherán, and this was borne out by all observations, there is very little disobedience or punishment at this time and the relations be-
[573] tween father and son and mother and daughter are close and affectionate once the child begins active participation in the adult activities. The period of conflict, then, seems a rather limited one, between the time when a child is no longer carried about and the time when it begins to participate in the adult life. These remarks again are based on very inadequate data and observation.

852 Some time between the ages of 6 and 10,
869 usually toward the upper limits of the age
608 period, the child is usually confirmed. There is very little ceremony involved, but when a visit from the Bishop is expected there will be a period of some weeks beforehand when children will be instructed and adults will confess so they may receive communion. For the event a new pair of godparents is sought. These godparents in theory assume the same responsibility as do the godparents of baptism. Actually the bonds seem to be much less close and the duties much less.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

857 Small girls and sometimes small boys play with swings in the house yards. These are merely larger versions of the swings used to teach infants to walk. Girls also play running games in the streets with small boys and play "keep away" and other games with rag balls. [157] Girls are shy and always stopped playing when they were observed.

837 In general, girls ape adult activities much more than do boys. Girls pretend to mill 868 maize, using a board for a metate, a rock for the mano, and mud for the maize dough. They play at being street vendors, using flower petals for merchandise. Sometimes they have dolls made of rags, but not very often. More common is it for several girls to get some boards or branches and make a house in which they will play at housekeeping with their fireplaces, grinding stones, dishes, etc. After several weddings had been held in close succession, a group of girls were observed playing at having a wedding. Flowers were put in the hair of the "godmothers" and leaves of maize were tied in the hair to represent the ribbons used in real weddings.

857 Education for life in Cherán is completely on an informal and unconscious level. Children 861 learn first by imitating and then by doing while assisting their parents. The social and religious structure they learn little by little through observation first of parents', and later of relatives', reactions to various individuals and situations and by listening to conversations. Only to a very small extent do children learn by being told. Again, observations are too few to generalize extensively, but apparently children are counseled and advised only when they begin to be old enough to undertake adult responsibilities. When they mention that they may do a certain act, the parents may discuss the advisability with them. In small matters of etiquette, parents may prompt children of any age. Formal training, though, seems to play little part in education for life as it is lived in Cherán.

871 Formal education for about 25 percent of the boys is received in school. Those who continue throughout the available course receive four years of school education. They learn to read and write and do a little simple arithmetic. They learn very little history or geography.